

## Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0833

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, USSW, SF  
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND SWEDEN'S AMBASSADOR THUNBORG  
DISCUSS AFRICAN QUESTIONS, MARCH 16, 1977

1. SUMMARY: SWEDEN'S AMBASSADOR THUNBORG CALLED ON  
AMBASSADOR YOUNG MARCH 16. YOUNG THOUGHT IT EARLY YET FOR  
IMPLEMENTATION OF SWEDEN'S PROPOSAL FOR A UNSC RESOLUTION  
CALLING FOR A HALT IN NEW INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. THEY  
BOTH BELIEVED THAT TOO STIFF LANGUAGE IN UNSC RESOLUTIONS  
COULD BE COUNTER PRODUCTIVE BUT EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE  
OF FIRM AND UNIFIED WESTERN ACTION TOWARD SOUTH  
AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR THUNBORG CALLED AT HIS REQUEST. AFTER CORDIAL  
EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS, THUNBORG TURNED TO THE TRUST FUND  
FOR SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1964 AND OF WHICH  
SWEDEN IS CHAIRMAN. THUNBORG SAID THE US HAD MADE A \$25  
THOUSAND CONTRIBUTION IN 1968, BUT THE US HAS NOT ADDED TO  
THIS. HE SAID THAT THE UK HAD MADE A SINGLE CONTRIBUTION  
IN 1967. AUSTRALIA, BELGIUM, NEW ZEALAND, THE NORDICS,  
AND OTHERS HAD ALSO CONTRIBUTED. THE FUND NOW TOTALLED  
\$4 MILLION, OF WHICH SOME \$850 THOUSAND HAD BEEN  
CONTRIBUTED IN 1976. SWEDEN, FOR INSTANCE, HAD GIVEN  
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\$135 THOUSAND, NORWAY, \$125 THOUSAND, DENMARK \$112  
THOUSAND. THUNBORG ASKED FOR A FURTHER US CONTRIBUTION.  
YOUNG SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO THIS.

3. THUNBORG ASKED ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE SECURITY  
COUNCIL. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH AMBASSADOR  
HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA AND THAT THE AFRICANS WERE PERHAPS

USING STRONGER WORDS THAN DESIRABLE IN SOME OF THEIR DRAFT RESOLUTION. YOUNG AGREED THAT THE WORDING WAS HARD. HE SAID HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH THE AFRICANS AND WOULD TRY TO GET A COMPROMISE IN A DECLARATION. YOUNG STRESSED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WE CAN DO IS TO GET THE WESTERN EUROPEAN AND OTHERS GROUP (WEOG) TO UNITE REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA. YOUNG RECALLED THAT, WHEN UNSC RESOLUTION 242 WAS PASSED, THE ISRAELIS THOUGHT VERY POORLY OF IT, BUT NOW IT FORMS THE BASIS FOR THEIR SURVIVAL. YOUNG SAID THE QUESTION WAS HOW TO WIN THE BATTLE FOR SOFTER LANGUAGE. IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONCENTRATE ON TOUGHER WESTERN ACTIONS IN ORDER TO GET SOFTER LANGUAGE. YOUNG THOUGHT IT NECESSARY TO BUILD A BODY OF PRECEDENT TO MAKE IT UNACCEPTABLE FOR ANY NATION TO SELL ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. HE THOUGHT THAT SWEDEN'S PROPOSAL TO STOP NEW INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE RECONSIDERED EVERY SIX MONTHS. YOUNG SAID HE WAS ENCOURAGED THAT AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE COMING TO NEW YORK FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA. HE THOUGHT IT WAS BETTER TO HAVE SOME FACES HERE WHICH ARE NOT SO STEEPED IN THE MYSTIQUE OF THE UN.

4. YOUNG ASKED ABOUT CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE MAY CONFERENCE IN MAPUTO ON ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA, WHICH HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY THE COMMITTEE OF 24. THUNBORG SAID THAT THE NORDICS, EXCEPTING ICELAND, WERE EACH CONTRIBUTING \$15 THOUSAND. THUNBORG THOUGHT THAT CONTRIBUTIONS WERE COMING IN WELL AND HE CONSIDERED THE MAPUTO MEETING A REALITY. THUNBORG THOUGHT A DECLARATION ON SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE USEFUL  
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BEFORE MAPUTO. YOUNG BELIEVED THAT SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT BE REPRESENTED AT MAPUTO.

5. THUNBORG ASKED YOUNG ABOUT SWEDEN'S PROPOSAL TO HALT NEW INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. YOUNG REPLIED THAT A FLOOD OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA IN ONE MONTH COULD LEAD TO A FLAT REACTION. HOWEVER, PASSAGE OF SIGNIFICANT RESOLUTIONS AT INTERVALS WOULD KEEP THE PRESSURE ON. YOUNG THOUGHT THAT IN A YEAR'S TIME A CHAPTER VII DETERMINATION ON SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, BUT ONE NOW WAS NOT REALISTIC. THUNBORG CONSIDERED INVESTMENT IN SOME WAYS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ARMS EMBARGO. HE SAID THAT A UNILATERAL EC-9 AGREEMENT ON ARMS EMBARGO WAS LIKELY. YOUNG HOPED WE COULD SUPPORT THE INVESTMENT RESOLUTION. NEXT YEAR MIGHT BE BETTER, THOUGH. THE UK WAS AGAINST THE INVESTMENT RESOLUTION. YOUNG CAUTIONED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD MAKE A SYMPATHETIC CASE FOR THEMSELVES IF PRESSED TOO HARD. THUNBORG NOTED THAT SWEDISH INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

HAD DECREASED BUT ADDED REALISTICALLY THAT RECENT INVESTMENT DECISIONS HAD BEEN INFLUENCED BY ELEMENTS OF INSTABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA'S SITUATION AS WELL AS MORAL CONSIDERATIONS. YOUNG AND THUNBORG AGREED THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS SHOULD TALK WITH THEIR BUSINESS COMMUNITIES ABOUT INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

6. THUNBORG SAID THAT HE WOULD BE RETURNING TO SWEDEN ON MARCH 18 FOR THE NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN REYKJAVIK THE FOLLOWING WEEK AND THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA THERE.

7. YOUNG SAID THAT OUR NEW ADMINISTRATION REMAINED A LITTLE PRESSED FOR TIME. HE HAD TOLD HARRIMAN EARLIER THAT WE SHOULD BE READY WITH OUR POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA IN MAY. YOUNG SAID WE WERE NOT QUITE THERE YET.

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8. THUNBORG ASKED IF THE US COULD PERSUADE THE AFRICANS TO TAKE UP ONLY ONE RESOLUTION THIS MONTH. YOUNG SAID WE HOPED TO DO SO. THUNBORG ASKED WHICH ONE. YOUNG EXPLAINED THAT WE HOPED FOR A BROAD DECLARATION CONVEYING A SENSE OF WORLD OPINION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

9. YOUNG THEN NOTED SOME OTHER ACTION STEPS HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE HAPPEN, IN PARTICULAR IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC RESOLUTION 385 ON NAMIBIA. HE THOUGHT THAT THE UNSC MEMBERS HAVING RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE MAKING A JOINT DEMARCHE TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS REJECTING THE CONCEPT OF THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE PERHAPS BEFORE THE MAPUTO MEETING.  
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